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FOR MOOSE FROM JOAN CLARK

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SUBJECT: USIA REORGANIZATION

FOLLOWING IS THE DRAFT MEMORANDUM ON USIA REORGANIZATION.
WE GAVE DENIS LAMB A COPY SATURDAY EVENING:

ISSUES FOR DECISION

CHANGES IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATE AND USIA HAVE
BEEN UNDER CONSIDERATION IN PUBLIC FORUMS AND THE CONGRESS
FOR TWO YEARS. THE TIME IS RIGHT FOR THE NEW ADMINISTRA-
TION TO INDICATE ITS DESIRES IN THIS REGARD, AND AMB. REIN-
HARDT HAS PROMISED CONGRESS A REORGANIZATION PLAN BY THE
MIDDLE OF NEXT MONTH.

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THIS PAPER ASKS THAT YOU MAKE DECISIONS ON WHETHER CHANGES
ARE REQUIRED IN THE PRESENT STATE-USIA ORGANIZATIONAL
STRUCTURE. IN CONSIDERING THOSE DECISIONS SEVERAL OTHER
FACTORS SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND: IS THE PRESENT ARRANGE-
MENT SATISFACTORY? WILL IMPROVEMENTS IN THE SYSTEM JUSTIFY
THE DISLOCATIONS WHICH WOULD ALSO RESULT? WHAT SPECIFIC
CHANGES SHOULD BE MADE TO IMPROVE ON THE PRESENT RELATION-
SHIP?

THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE IS: WHERE SHOULD PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

FIT IN AMONG THE VARIOUS OTHER DIPLOMATIC PROCEDURES AT OUR DISPOSAL? A COROLLARY WOULD BE: WHAT IS THE DESIRED DEGREE OF IMMEDIATE POLICY CONTROL OVER PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ACTIVITIES?

BACKGROUND:

IN 1945 THE DEPARTMENT SET UP AN OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS, UNDER THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS. WITH THE ENACTMENT OF THE SMITH-MUNDT ACT IN 1948 THE U.S. BEGAN TO CONDUCT INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION, EDUCATION AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES ON A WORLD-WIDE SCALE. RESPONSIBILITY FOR THESE ACTIVITIES REMAINED IN THE DEPARTMENT, UNDER THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS. IN 1952 INFORMATION, EDUCATION AND EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES WERE MOVED TO A NEW SEMI-AUTONOMOUS INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION ADMINISTRATION. THIS WAS THE FIRST EFFORT TO SEPARATE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY FROM TRADITIONAL DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITIES.

THE ROCKEFELLER COMMISSION IN 1953 RECOMMENDED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FOREIGN INFORMATION AGENCY, WHICH WOULD BE INDEPENDENT OF THE DEPARTMENT BUT RECEIVE POLICY GUIDANCE FROM THE SECRETARY. STUDY COMMITTEES HEADED BY WILLIAM H. JACKSON AND SENATOR HICKENLOOPER DIFFERED, URGING THAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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IN ANY REORGANIZATION CULTURAL AND EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES SHOULD REMAIN IN THE DEPARTMENT. REORGANIZATION PLAN NO.8 OF JUNE 1953 ESTABLISHED THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY, BUT LEFT DOMESTIC MANAGEMENT OF THE EXCHANGE PROGRAM IN THE DEPARTMENT SO AS TO AVOID "GIVING THE EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE OF PERSONS A PROPAGANDA FLAVOR." OVERSEAS, HOWEVER, USIA HANDLED EXCHANGES.

THE SEPARATION OF DOMESTIC EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES FROM USIA HAD ITS ORIGIN IN THE CONGRESSIONAL PROHIBITION AGAINST USIA ACTIVITY WITHIN THE U.S. APPREHENSION OVER THE APPLICATION OF "PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES" TO THE AMERICAN SCENE LED CONGRESS TO RULE OUT ANY DOMESTIC ACTIVITY BY USIA, WHICH HAD BEEN ORIGINALLY CONCEIVED AS A COLD WAR WEAPON. BOTH AT THE END OF THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION AND IN THE FIRST YEAR OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S TENURE, SEVERAL PROPOSALS WERE MADE TO TRANSFER USIA INTO THE STATE DEPARTMENT, OR -- ALTERNATIVELY -- MOVE DOMESTIC EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES TO USIA. THIS WAS NOT ACCOMPLISHED, HOWEVER, AND IN 1961 THE BUREAU OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS WAS ESTABLISHED, TO BE SIGNIFICANTLY STRENGTHENED BY THE PASSAGE OF THE FULBRIGHT-HAYS ACT IN THAT YEAR. SINCE THAT TIME, THE ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN USIA AND THE DEPART-

MENT HAVE REMAINED BASICALLY UNCHANGED.

FRANCE, BRITAIN AND GERMANY ALL PRACTICE THE SEPARATION OF CULTURAL PROGRAMS FROM POLICY ARTICULATION. BRITAIN AND GERMANY HAVE AUTONOMOUS CULTURAL INSTITUTES DISTINCT FROM DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS. ALL THREE HAVE POLICY ARTICULATION ACTIVITIES INTEGRATED WITH SUBSTANTIVE CHANCERY SECTIONS. WHILE THE BBC IS GOVERNMENT-OWNED, IT HAS DEVELOPED A REPUTATION FOR INDEPENDENCE, AND IS HELD UP TODAY AS A MODEL OF CREDIBILITY FOR VOA. IN FRANCE, GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE OVER THE NATIONAL RADIO NETWORK IS A SHARP AND CONTINUING DOMESTIC ISSUE, AND THE OVERSEAS SERVICE IS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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CLEARLY RESPONSIBLE TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. THE GERMAN RADIO IS PROBABLY MORE INDEPENDENT THAN THE BRITISH OR FRENCH, AND HAS CAUSED GOVERNMENTAL CONCERN WHEN ITS BROADCASTS HAVE VEERED FROM OFFICIAL POLICY.

ANALYSIS:

THE ROLE OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IS FAR BROADER TODAY THAN WHEN THE US FIRST EMBARKED ON CULTURAL AND EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES AFTER WORLD WAR II. THIS ANALYSIS IS DIRECTED AT DEVISING A MORE EFFECTIVE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY FOR THE U.S., HARMONIZING PUBLIC AND TRADITIONAL DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITIES, AND HARNESSING PUBLIC DIPLOMACY TO THE PROMOTION OF OVER-ALL U.S. FOREIGN POLICY GOALS.

GENERAL INFORMATION EXCHANGE AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES HAVE BECOME A STANDARD PART OF EVERY NATION'S FOREIGN POLICY EQUIPMENT. SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF USIA THE OPERATION OF THIS ACTIVITY HAS BEEN DIVIDED, WITH USIA FUNCTIONING ABROAD AND THE BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS OPERATING IN THE US. THE NEED FOR THESE PROGRAMS -- EXCHANGE OF PERSONS AND THE DISSEMINATION OVERSEAS OF GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT AMERICAN SOCIETY AND CULTURE -- IS UNQUESTIONED. THESE ACTIVITIES FOSTER BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF AMERICAN SOCIETY AND CULTURE AND THEREBY PROMOTE A MORE FAVORABLE CLIMATE FOR THE PURSUIT OF FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES.

ONE OF THE ISSUES AT HAND IS WHETHER THE OPERATION OF THESE PROGRAMS SHOULD BE CENTRALIZED, OR WHETHER THE PRESENT DIVISION IS USEFUL. IN THE VARIOUS STUDIES OF THIS QUESTION, THE CONSENSUS IS THAT THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL FUNCTIONS OF CU AND USIA SHOULD BE ASSIGNED TO A SINGLE HEADQUARTERS AGENCY. NO CASE HAS BEEN MADE SHOWING THE PRESENT SYSTEM TO BE INEFFICIENT. STILL, CONSOLIDATION WOULD FACILITATE PROGRAM OPERATIONS BY ELIMINATING THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PRESENT AWKWARD SYSTEM OF INTERAGENCY COORDINATION.

THE NEED FOR "DISTANCE" BETWEEN CULTURAL AND OTHER INFORMATION ACTIVITIES WAS BASED 25 YEARS AGO ON A CONCERN THAT THE PROPAGANDA EFFORTS OF USIA WOULD BE INCOMPATIBLE WITH APOLITICAL EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES. TIMES HAVE CHANGED, AND WHILE THE LEGAL PROHIBITION ON USIA ACTIVITIES AT HOME REMAINS, THE UNDERLYING NEED FOR SEPARATION IS IN THE EYES OF MANY CLEARLY UNNECESSARY.

THE STANTON PANEL PROPOSED THAT THE BROAD INFORMATION FUNCTION BE DIVIDED, WITH POLICY ARTICULATION AND ADVISORY ACTIVITIES MOVING TO STATE AND LONG-TERM CULTURAL AND GENERAL INFORMATION EFFORTS REMAINING WITH USIA. IN THE PANEL'S VIEW THIS CHANGE WOULD IMPROVE ON THE PRESENT SITUATION, WHERE POLICIES ARE DEFENDED BY A DIFFERENT AGENCY FROM THE ONE WHICH FORMULATES THEM. IN PRACTICE, THIS WOULD MEAN THAT THE "FAST NEWS" ELEMENTS OF USIA WOULD BE INTEGRATED WITH THE DEPARTMENT'S BUREAU OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, AND THAT ABROAD THE PRESS ATTACHE FUNCTION WOULD BE ATTACHED TO THE AMBASSADOR'S OFFICE, AND REMOVED FROM USIS. THIS ARRANGEMENT, IT WAS PROPOSED, WOULD PUT THE SPOKESMAN IN CLOSER TOUCH WITH HIS PRINCIPAL, AND PERMIT THE REMAINDER OF THE INFORMATION EFFORT TO CONCENTRATE ON LONGER RANGE PROBLEMS.

THE ROLE AND MISSION OF THE VOICE OF AMERICA IS CENTRAL IN ANY CONSIDERATION OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY POLICIES. THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT, DESPITE DETENTE AND A GENERAL LESSENING OF TENSIONS, VOA IS STILL NEEDED TODAY IN SUPPORT OF US FOREIGN POLICY, AND TO OVERCOME THE COMMUNICATIONS BLACKOUT OF US NEWS IMPOSED ON MUCH OF THE WORLD.

VOA'S MISSION IS THREEFOLD: TO PROMOTE US FOREIGN POLICY, TO PROJECT AMERICAN SOCIETY AND TO BROADCAST BALANCED

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NEWS. THESE GOALS ARE TO A DEGREE INCOMPATIBLE, IN THAT EFFORTS TO ATTAIN ONE GOAL CAN LIMIT THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE OTHERS. THE STANTON PANEL PROPOSED THAT VOA WOULD BE MORE CREDIBLE AND BETTER ABLE TO CARRY OUT ITS BROADCASTING TASK IF IT WERE FREED FROM DIRECT USIA CONTROL. SUPPORTERS OF THAT VIEW ASSERT THAT THE GREATER ITS DISTANCE FROM THE DEPARTMENT, THE GREATER WILL BE VOA'S CREDIBILITY. OTHERS HOLD THAT NO MATTER WHAT THE FORMAL TIE MAY BE, THE VOICE OF AMERICA WILL REMAIN THE VOICE OF THE US GOVERNMENT.

THE OFFICIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DEPARTMENT AND USIA (OR A SUCCESSOR AGENCY) WILL DEPEND IN LARGE MEASURE ON FORMAL TIES IN LAW AND REGULATION. STILL, THE RELATION-

SHIP WILL REFLECT THE PERSONALITIES INVOLVED, AND THEIR CONCEPTION OF THEIR ROLES.

THE STANTON PANEL PROPOSED AN INFORMATION AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS AGENCY TO BE LOCATED "UNDER" BUT NOT "IN" THE DEPARTMENT. UNDER THIS ARRANGEMENT THE DIRECTOR OF ICA (WHICH WOULD INCLUDE USIA'S PRESENT CULTURAL AND GENERAL INFORMATION FUNCTIONS, AUGMENTED BY CU) WOULD REPORT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE. ICA WOULD HAVE ITS OWN BUDGET AND ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE, BUT -- LIKE ACDA -- IT WOULD BE A SEPARATE AGENCY.

THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS AGENCIES ARE BY NO MEANS CLEAR. A 1961 EXECUTIVE ORDER, DIRECTED THE SECRETARY TO "ESTABLISH AN AGENCY IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE," KNOWN AS AID. THE AID ADMINISTRATOR REPORTS TO THE SECRETARY, WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS.

THE DIRECTOR OF ACDA SERVES AS THE PRINCIPAL ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT ADVISOR TO THE SECRETARY, THE NSC AND THE PRESIDENT. THE ACDA DIRECTOR HAS PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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FOR ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT, "UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE," AND IS AUTHORIZED "UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE SECRETARY" TO CARRY OUT INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS AND RELATED FUNCTIONS.

USIA HAS A DIFFERENT RELATIONSHIP TO THE DEPARTMENT. THE 1953 REORGANIZATION PLAN WHICH ESTABLISHED USIA TRANSFERRED TO ITS DIRECTOR FUNCTIONS VESTED IN THE SECRETARY BY PREVIOUS LEGISLATION, AND LEFT THE SECRETARY OF STATE WITH ONLY LIMITED AUTHORITY OVER USIA, IN THE AREA OF FOREIGN POLICY DIRECTION.

POLICY LEVEL OFFICIALS IN ALL THREE AGENCIES ARE APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT WITH THE ADVICE AND CONSENT OF THE SENATE.

OBJECTIVES:

IN PREPARING THIS ANALYSIS OF ALTERNATIVE COURSES OF ACTION, WE HAVE SOUGHT TO ESTABLISH CERTAIN AGREED OBJECTIVES WHICH WILL BE SERVED, TO VARYING DEGREES, BY THE OPTIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION. WHILE CERTAIN OBJECTIVES WILL BE ADVANCED BY A GIVEN COURSE OF ACTION, OTHERS WILL NOT.

-- SATISFY PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVES CALLING FOR ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT AND REORGANIZATION TO STREAMLINE GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES.

-- PROMOTE US FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES, AND SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING OF US FOREIGN POLICY GOALS.

--FOSTER A FAVORABLE PSYCHOLOGICAL CLIMATE FOR THE CONDUCT OF TRADITIONAL DIPLOMACY.

-- PROMOTE UNDERSTANDING OF AMERICAN VALUES, CULTURE AND POLITICAL SYSTEM.

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-- RESPOND TO CONGRESSIONAL CONCERNS FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CONDUCT OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY.

-- MAINTAIN THE INTEGRITY OF CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS (VIS-A-VIS "PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES").

-- DEVELOP A MEANS OF MAINTAINING USEFUL WORKING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMUNITY AND EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL GROUPS IN US SOCIETY.

-- ASSURE THAT FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE ADVOCACY OF US POLICIES OVERSEAS DO NOT ADVERSELY AFFECT THE DEPARTMENT'S ABILITY TO INFORM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ABOUT FOREIGN POLICY.

-- ENHANCE LONG-TERM MUTUAL INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING.

-- MAINTAIN MORALE OF USIA PERSONNEL.

-- MAINTAIN MORALE OF STATE PERSONNEL.

OPTIONS:

1. LEAVE THE BASIC STATE-USIA RELATIONSHIP IN ITS PRESENT FORM WITH MINOR ADJUSTMENTS, MOVING CU ADMINISTRATIVELY FROM STATE TO USIA.

ADVANTAGES:

-- WHILE AWKWARD FROM A STRICTLY THEORETICAL ORGANIZATIONAL STANDPOINT, THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENT WORKS WELL.

-- MAKING SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES WILL PROBABLY ADVERSELY AFFECT MORALE IN ONE OR BOTH AGENCIES.

-- CHANGE WILL LEAD TO A LACK OF COORDINATION AND EFFICIENT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ENCY IN THE SHORT RUN.

DISADVANTAGES:

-- THE PRESENT STRUCTURE, BOTH AS BETWEEN STATE AND USIA

AND BETWEEN USIA AND VOA, IS BASED ON CONDITIONS OF A
QUARTER CENTURY AGO. IT SHOULD BE UPDATED.

-- THE PRESIDENT HAS CALLED FOR EFFORTS TO STREAMLINE
GOVERNMENT AGENCIES.

-- IMPORTANT SEGMENTS OF THE CONGRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION
BELIEVE THAT CHANGES SHOULD BE MADE, PARTICULARLY IN THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VOA, USIA AND THE DEPARTMENT.

2. ADOPT THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STANTON PANEL.

(A) SEPARATE POLICY INFORMATION FROM OTHER INFORMATION AND
CULTURAL AFFAIRS, AND INCORPORATE ALL POLICY ARTICULATION
INTO THE DEPARTMENT.

ADVANTAGE:

-- THIS WOULD PUT FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY INFORMATION
ACTIVITIES IN THE SAME DEPARTMENT.

DISADVANTAGE:

-- THIS WOULD REMOVE FROM USIA A MAJOR POLICY-RELATED AC-
TIVITY, AND THEREBY HURT MORALE.

(B) ESTABLISH AN AUTONOMOUS INFORMATION CULTURAL AFFAIRS
AGENCY.

ADVANTAGES:

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-- CULTURAL AND EXCHANGE PROGRAMS WOULD BE IN THE SAME
HANDS AT HOME AND OVERSEAS;

-- SAVINGS WOULD RESULT -- PROBABLY 50 POSITIONS AND
TWO MILLION DOLLARS, OR MORE, ACCORDING TO GAO.

DISADVANTAGES:

-- "FAST" AND "SLOW" INFORMATION PROGRAMS CAN BENEFIT FROM

JOINT MANAGEMENT, AND SEPARATING THEM CAN INJURE BOTH.

-- THERE WOULD BE A CONFLICT WITH THE CONGRESSIONAL BAN ON DOMESTIC DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMATION AGENCY PRODUCTS.

-- WOULD REQUIRE NEW LEGISLATION.

(C) ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT VOA.

ADVANTAGES:

-- VOA WOULD GAIN CREDIBILITY.

-- THIS EFFORT WOULD MEET CONGRESSIONAL CONCERN FOR CHANGES IN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ORGANIZATION.

DISADVANTAGES:

-- AN INDEPENDENT VOA WOULD COMPOUND THE PRESENT DIFFICULTIES OF COORDINATING VOA OUTPUT IN SUPPORT OF US FOREIGN POLICY.

-- IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT OTHER GOVERNMENTS WOULD CONSIDER VOA ANYTHING OTHER THAN THE VOICE OF THE U.S.GOVERNMENT.

-- WOULD REQUIRE NEW LEGISLATION.

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3. ADOPT A REORGANIZATION PLAN ALONG THE LINES OF THE GAO REPORT, LEAVING THE POLICY INFORMATION AND POLICY ADVISORY FUNCTIONS IN A NEW INFORMATION AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS AGENCY, MOVING CU ACTIVITIES TO ICA AND MAKING NO CHANGE IN VOA.

ADVANTAGES:

-- WOULD CAUSE MINIMUM DISLOCATION IN THE PRESENT ORGANIZATIONS.

-- WHILE THE WORK IS BEING DONE SATISFACTORILY NOW, MOVING CU EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES TO ICA WOULD PRODUCE SAVINGS.

-- A CHANGE IN VOA'S STATUS IS UNLIKELY TO IMPROVE CREDIBILITY.

DISADVANTAGES:

-- POLICY ADVOCACY OVERSEAS WOULD BE IN A DIFFERENT AGENCY FROM THE FORMULATION.

-- WOULD REQUIRE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION TO ESTABLISH ICA.

-- CONGRESSIONAL CONCERN OVER THE CREDIBILITY OF VOA
WOULD NOT BE SATISFIED.

-- WOULD REQUIRE LEGISLATIVE CHANGES.

4. MOVE USIA ENTIRELY INTO THE STATE DEPARTMENT, FULLY
INTEGRATING PERSONNEL SYSTEMS.

ADVANTAGES:

-- THIS WOULD IMPROVE POLICY DIRECTION BY STATE.

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-- WOULD PROVIDE BETTER SUPPORT FOR US FOREIGN POLICY AND
AVOID RIVALRIES AND COMPETITION.

DISADVANTAGES:

-- WOULD BE DEVASTATING TO USIA MORALE.

-- WOULD PUT MANY MORE OFFICERS IN PRESENTLY CONGESTED
POLITICAL FIELD.

-- PROBLEMS OF MIXING "PROPAGANDA" WITH DOMESTIC INFORMA-
TION PROGRAMS WOULD ARISE.

5. MOVE USIA CULTURAL ACTIVITIES TO CU.

ADVANTAGES:

-- THIS COURSE WOULD CONSOLIDATE CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN
ONE AGENCY, AT HOME AND ABROAD.

DISADVANTAGES:

-- WOULD RUN HEADLONG INTO CONGRESSIONAL PROHIBITION
AGAINST USIA DOMESTIC OPERATIONS.

-- WOULD NOT MEET CONGRESSIONAL CONCERNS.

-- WOULD NOT SERVE TO IMPROVE POLICY DIRECTION BY STATE.
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